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trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."
[113] (From Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nšūĕ,-nkŭm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called myāk (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following
[539] proverb:

bokui bo vŏde akŭă o mvāk =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 ●791 Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovɔ̌ɔ̈n e ndžīk) (1) in order to

1. Called ovɔ̌ɔ̈n e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovɔ̌ɔ̈n), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera.

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

325 791 [411] The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (esũm), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obã'-ekiẽi) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bã = to divide, e-bã'-s = scale, ekiẽi - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the 325 791 422 floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafãn-ekiẽi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ɦ, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

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422 material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.
[438] These pieces (epfûs-ekîêi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfû -î, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

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434 A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

000 its height, clouds. -- Moon and sun and their course. -- The moon as "presider" over fertility and the seasons. -- First day of the new moon as Sunday. -- Significance of the days around the full moon; taboos and means of circumventing them. -- Stars and their nature. -- Comets. -- Size of the heavenly bodies and their color.

4. Time reckoning. Contempt for time. -- Half years of the Pangwe. -- The seasons and explanation of their names. -- Division of the month. -- Day and night.

1. Soothsaying

791 Today the soothsayer is to be found only in the heart of the Pangwe region, in the Uelle area, and even here he is in the process of becoming extinct. The reason for this is that his art relates mainly to events and accidents of wartime, and as the result of European influence wars are becoming more and more infrequent. In times of peace the soothsayer deals only with the apprehension of a thief and with the questions as to whether a woman is fertile or infertile and whether the physical malformation of a child is to be explained by the fact that another person gave the child the medicine for sorcery, in other words, for an ewu.

The medicines for soothsaying, like all those cited earlier, are in the possession of certain persons, but for a price (a sheep) they can at any time be acquired by anyone. The principal medicine is enclosed in a horn of the white-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV). The soothsayer takes the horn in his hand and shakes it (a pfōge) -- hence the name mpfōge-mvū, "one who shakes the antelope horn," for soothsayer. The contents of the horn are acquired in the following manner. The soothsayer's novice with his master must participate in a war and find the body of a person slain in battle, cut off the head, take out the teeth and one eye, and finally slit open the belly, into which is placed, for one day, the antelope's horn intended for the novice.

●791 The teeth, the eye, and a piece of an evū'-besī (see Vol. II, p. 128 /Ed., not translated/) are placed in the /195/ horn, which is sealed with monitor lizard skin. Once the principal medicine has been secretly acquired in this gruesome manner, the ordination of the novice into the office of soothsayer takes place in public on the village square. The medicine man boils a chicken together with leaves of various medicine plants, especially of the [824] "medicine tree," Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (elī'bengāń, ejēn), and he gives the novice some of this concoction to eat ten times (1). Then the old man leaps about the village square shaking

[801]

1. Ten is the number of wisdom, seven the lucky number, and three or nine the sacred number of the Pangwe.

the soothsayer's horn, chars a piece of the most gigantic liana of [824] the Pangwe region, Entada scandens Benth., Leguminosa (ntū' I), after he has touched it several times with his foot as he was leaping about, makes an incision in one of the novice's toes, and rubs the ashes into the wound. As he does so, he says: "If you go to war and you knock your toe against the ground so that the wound opens, the prospects for your side will be bad; otherwise they will be good" (for the liana strives upwards). The ashes of the liana, therefore, are supposed to communicate to the toe the plant's property of striving upwards and thereby help the soothsayer to rise above his fellow human beings just as the liana in its striving for light rises above the other trees. This concludes the initiation, and the novice is now a full-fledged soothsayer.

As a fee for divination, usually from one to five spears (seven to 35 pfennigs) are paid, but in times of war, when excitement, tension, and fear fill everyone with uncertainty, considerably more is paid. At such times the distrust towards soothsayers, which today is already almost universal, gives way to a willing credulity. During peaceful times the situation is pretty much as it is with us; very stupid and superstitious people, for the most part women, go to the wise man, but the great majority no longer believe in his hocus-pocus. "There are a lot of lies in it," I was told, "but once

791 in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

791 558 The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridicule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

721 787 In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is reestablished. Before setting out against the enemy village, the entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

787 In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/ we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave. In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognize what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits
[142] setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[144] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
● 791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

b. Legal Power

[670] The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

[671] The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

[627] Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) [628] went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [791] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[675] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

789 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine.
791 Every ngengaff is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable
752 base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major [illegible] sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter [illegible] his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 [534] Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]

791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 791 644 769 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situation, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 757 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur] and sorcerer.

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

791 754 The sorcerer also assumes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest, etc., but none of these different manifestations are either legal or accepted; they will always operate in a secret manner, and the sorcerer will be the agent of the secret and unacknowledged, the extralegal, cult. [406]

575 754 791 Just as we find two distinct persons nearly always in opposition, so we observe them presiding over two distinct types of association. And, unfortunately, just as practitioner and sorcerer have almost always been confused, so have the true secret societies directed by the former been confused with the secret societies (organized also within the tribe) that are quite different, often antagonistic, and under the authority of sorcerers, who create them and without whom they do not operate. The former are established to work for the well-being of the tribe, at least they were so originally and they still are on the whole at the present time. The others, on the contrary, are set up for the specific benefit of members and against the tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The principal point at issue here is that the totems of secret societies directed by practitioners and the totems of secret societies directed by sorcerers are utterly different. We shall see later on how incorrect the term "totem" is in connection with sorcerers. While the first kind of totem are chosen entirely for the benefit of the individual who acquires them with no concern about the effect on others, the second are chosen by the owner with a view to the evil he can do with them to others. [407] Hence a profound difference in their selection: the first, like the totems of clan and tribe, can legally be any kind of living thing and are in fact, animals, birds, insects, trees, but only useful things, because the point is to benefit from their good qualities. There is nothing of this in connection with the second kind of totem: to injure others is the point, the unique purpose, the raison d'être; therefore, harmful animals like panthers, reptiles, and wild boars will be the first choice.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [408-414 omitted]

[415] The practitioner's business is to have an effect upon good and bad "spirits." To call up good spirits as we see for

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instance in the invocations of marriage songs; to fend off bad spirits, departed shades, ghosts, or apparitions and force them out of the village so they they will go far away and leave the living in peace; in brief, to protect in some manner those who invoke them -- this is the practitioner's role. The end is achieved through appropriate homage and sacrifices, either directly, by protecting the suppliant from bad luck and accidents, or indirectly, by making it impossible for the enemy -- whether spirit, shade, man, or object -- to do harm. All this is worship, religion, the practitioner's role.

But, on the other hand, to be master of these spirits, preferably of the malevolent ones, to seize the spirits, and to force both to do evil, is no longer worship or religion, but magic, and this is the sorcerer's business.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [416]

We make the following generalizations:

The practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult, which is sometimes public, sometimes secret.

The sorcerer is the agent of the unacknowledged cult, which is always secret.

Both practitioner and sorcerer are leaders or members of secret societies. (1)

> 1. In place of "secret societies," which leads to confusion, it would be better to reserve this term, as has been proposed, for the societies set up by sorcerers and to use "confraternities" for those directed by practitioners.

Secret societies controlled by practitioners are within the tribe.

Secret societies controlled by sorcerers are marginal to, or directed against, the tribe.

791 Finally, the practitioner is priest, physician, healer, seer, according to whatever function his rank has him perform. Under this title he consults the fates, calls up spirits, etc. In ceremonies of the public cult, for instance, he is priest, seer, rain maker, the acknowledged intermediary between the world of the living and the other world. To sum up, he acts for the welfare of the tribe or of some of its members. In the last capacity he is seen as sacrificer at a child's birth, and as the principal agent in circumcision and in the ceremonies connected with puberty, the initiation of warriors, marriage, and death. He is called in for all illnesses so as to drive away the malevolent spirits who alone cause disease. [419] As physician he first uses magical formulae designed to liberate the good "influences" contained in the remedies he will administer. Next, he dispels evil "spirits" and calls upon favorable spirits, the ancestors of the race, to help him. Only after this does he proceed to give the remedy; then he again calls upon the aid of propitious spirits and dispels the bad ones. ...

Our Fan give the practitioner a special name; he is the ngân̂, a name common to the whole of Bantu Africa, where the phoneme [sic] may be found throughout the tribes, variously modified as m-gân̂a, n-gân̂a, m-hân̂a, gân̂a, ngân̂. ...

[Last paragraph on p. 417 omitted; pp. 418 to mid-420 omitted. --Translator] [420]

754 The sorcerer's social position is easily defined; not only does he have neither rank nor position in the tribe but even to apply the word "sorcerer" ... to a native is more than an insult, it is extremely imprudent. To call a Fan ngân̂ or ngenngân̂ is doing him an honor; if he is not a practitioner, he will give you credit for your good intentions and courtesy. Call him nlèm [he who casts bait] and the situation is quite different. First, he will peer around to see if anyone has overheard. If you are alone with him and [421] the stronger, or if he fears retaliation, you will be lucky to escape the gunshot or knife stab he will gladly give you, or the poison he might give you as soon as he has a chance. If there are people around in the village, it would constitute a serious accusation, which might cost him his life....

[683]

754 In fact, the sorcerer is the person hated and feared above all others, the evildoer, whom one consults only when forced to it, because he controls occult forces and his power is recognized. ...

Nevertheless, in spite of this, sorcerers exist and will continue to do so for a long time for two reasons:

1. their social position in the tribe, not as sorcerers -- for I have just said that they have none on that score -- but because of their own personalities;

2. the fear they inspire, which will eventually lead to their death, but which does help them to maintain their positions.

754 791 Clearly, in everyday life and through the course of events, practitioner and sorcerer are often combined in the same person. A certain man, a religious minister respected by his family, a physician, and practitioner esteemed publicly, may also be a sorcerer, but then in the greatest secrecy, unless his position allows him to proclaim this attribute. In that case he will be universally feared and hated and will only keep going through terror and murder, and he will always fear for his life.

[Pp. 422, 423, omitted. --Translator] [424]

791 The practitioner carries on the cult and is the totem's minister only by a sort of delegation, a handing over of power from the head of a family. He has been seen in this capacity performing his part in important totemic ceremonies alongside the tribal chief, regulating ritual under his direction, in short, acting as his organizer, master of ceremonies, sacrificial assistant. In practice he often comes to supplant the chief and afterwards to transmit to his descendants the religious power usurped.

Even this predominant role will not be thought sufficient by the ngâña [practitioner]. He wants complete ascendancy and he attains it through the secret societies in which he alone is master, which have little by little encroached on the tribal organization and tend to supplant the family power of former times. In this way he is the true and sole minister of the totem of these societies.

754 But alongside the ngâña and the secret societies he organizes and controls, hidden as it were in their underworld, are the sorcerers, or bèyem, who are similarly ministers of totems which they have given to the secret societies they control -- ministers,

754 societies, and totems that are basically actually spurious copies of the first.

754 From this we are led to a study of the secret societies directed by both and of the very different, though often undif-
791 ferentiated, role that practitioners [bêfgan] and sorcerers [bêyem] play in them.

Chapter XIII

Practitioners and Sorcerers

Their Secret Societies

[Pp. 425-433 omitted, being mainly taken up with the theories of others. --Translator]

[434[[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 In my opinion the secret society is derived from the tribal organization itself. The dominating position which the practitioner has been able to assume [in the secret society] comes from the role he has necessarily been called upon to play in the ordinary course of events. Similarly, the new totems given to initiates after initiation are only imitations of those bestowed upon them by their fathers at birth.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575 Before youths are admitted to membership with warriors,
791 it seems quite natural to put them through a series of tests designed to prove whether they are really fit to play their part and to perform the services which the tribe demands of them. Consequently, girls and women are immediately eliminated, for the benefit of the male population. The series of tests cannot take place in the village in front of everyone; the compulsory elimination of some would, aside from other considerations, arouse violent resentment against the leaders and be followed by inevitable revenge. Hence the necessity for withdrawing to the background. The chief may appoint a representative, for instance an outstanding warrior, but there is no one better [435] fitted than the practitioner for this role and for taking a leading and soon

575 exclusive position. Religion must, in fact, be an important
●191 and necessary element in these gatherings. For is it not necessary for the ancestral spirits to be consulted, to be made interested in their young descendants and their spirits made to enter into them; and is it not necessary to attract good influences and keep away harmful ones? All this is the work of the agent of worship, who alone is proficient. Also, throughout the time during which the young warriors are under his supervision, he has complete control over them, and this power he will indeed want to keep. But with their return to the village, the youths, now warriors, fall back under the authority of the tribal chief. But this is no obstacle. The practitioner easily recruits neophytes from among those who have been most devoted to him, and with these he forms a society more closed than the previous one and which is, above all, permanent, because of its objective and the manner of its establishment. The tribal chief will have to bow to and obey this group whose control has inevitably escaped him. He almost always agrees to enter it himself, mistakenly hoping therein to recapture his partially lost authority. . . .

575 Such, reduced to the simplest terms, is the origin of the secret society. It has gradually become legal and, in the natural course of things, one of the tribe's most lively organizations. Obviously, it has been greatly modified through time and as a result of changing forms. It has nevertheless remained just as it was in its general structure.

In imitation of the tribe, clan, and family, from which it has been copied, the secret society also has totems: totems of society, of subdivisions, [436] of chiefs, and of individuals. Having taken over the tribal chief's role, the practitioner has replaced him in everything that has to do with these particular totems. Yet it must be observed that since the principal power of these totems lies in secrecy, they will not encroach upon the tribe nor fight against either tribal or other totems. A person entering a secret society is simply seeking additional strength and power or a further guarantee of personal security.

Not only do individuals have totems, but just as the tribe is subdivided into clans and families, so the secret society is divided into classes, each of which has its totem.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

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3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the ɛ́totore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

515 754 825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the ɛ́lâñɛ́la. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

●791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty *and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will* first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made because of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

575 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyebe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

575 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alɛwanɛ́ to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

575 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him
791 in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the
782 carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem
791 and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke
782 cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care be-
266 cause no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation. *The victim's blood is mix*ed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share go-
[789] ing to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

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The ceremony is altogether secret in the sense that no layman may be present, but it remains a legal ceremony, and [484] everyone in the village -- if only through having had to stay away -- knows where and when it takes place. However, it must not be mentioned by anyone. Anyone doing so would have to pay a fine, usually of a fowl or its equivalent in value.

Thus the totem initiation of practitioner belongs to the ordinary scheme of things.

That of the sorcerer is quite different.

Initiation of the Sorcerer; the Nagual

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In a book (1) published several years ago, the author, Mgr.

> 1. Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Recits d'un Missionaire [Under the African Sky, A Missionary's Account], by the Rev. Father Buléon, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, pp. 88 ff.

Buléon ... gives an eyewitness account of the sorcerer's initiation. ...

[Footnote omitted. --Translator]

"To be initiated as a sorcerer means being initiated by secret ceremonies into certain rites through which one may gain some signal favor from a spirit whose power one recognizes. ...

"Motivated by revenge, avarice, or ambition, an African one day leaves his village, to which he only expects to return when armed with the mysterious and terrible power that will allow him to satisfy his desires. His journey's end may be distant; often he has excellent reasons for seeking, far away and usually outside his tribe, someone who will confer marvelous privileges upon him. His absence sometimes lasts [485] several months. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"The candidate is seated on the ground, wearing only a loincloth and tattooed more than the others. Undermined by severe privations made more hazardous by being uninterrupted,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able